

ALMADA AND THE MARITIME STATIONS: THE PORTRAIT OF PORTUGAL THAT THE DICTATORSHIP WANTED TO ERASE

ABSTRACT

During the 1940s Almada Negreiros painted in Lisbon's Maritime Stations a collective portrait that challenged the *mythicised* image of Salazar's Portugal in terms of self-representation. For those "visitors' living rooms", the dictatorship expected a décor suitable to the country's vision glorified by propaganda. But if the frescoes of Alcântara Station caused official discontentment, the ones of Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Station — portraying a people torn between emigration and stagnation — were even at risk of being destroyed. The text addresses the political dimension of the works, the suspicions of the regime and the reasons pointed out by Almada's defenders to save those masterpieces, monumentally inscribed in a collective memory space.

KEY WORDS

ALMADA NEGREIROS | MARITIME STATIONS | PROPAGANDA | NEW STATE

RESUMO

Nos anos 40 Almada Negreiros pintou, nas Gares Marítimas de Lisboa, um retrato colectivo que desafiou a imagem mitificada do Portugal salazarista em matéria de auto-representação. A ditadura esperava para aquelas "salas de visitas" uma decoração adequada à visão do país que a propaganda glorificava. Mas se na Gare de Alcântara os frescos causaram desagrado oficial, os da Gare da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos — retratando um povo dividido entre a emigração e o marasmo — estiveram mesmo em risco de ser destruídos. O texto aborda a dimensão política desses trabalhos, as suspeitas do regime e os argumentos utilizados pelos defensores de Almada para salvar aquelas obras-primas, monumentalmente inscritas num espaço de memória colectiva.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

ALMADA NEGREIROS | GARES MARÍTIMAS
| PROPAGANDA | ESTADO NOVO

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By challenging the mythicised image of Salazar's Portugal, what Almada Negreiros depicted in Lisbon's maritime stations during 1940s displeased the regime so much that the destruction of those paintings came to be a possible outcome. More than the known aesthetic reasons invoked, there were, of course, political reasons. If it wasn't for António Ferro's key role in defending the panels of Alcântara Station and the later interventions of Pardal Monteiro and João Couto in favour of the panels of Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Station, the country would have lost the collective portrait that best reflected its condition.

Since historian José-Augusto França rated, in 1974, one of the panels of Rocha Station as "a masterpiece of Portuguese painting of the first half of the twentieth century"¹ (França 1974, 147) that its attempted destruction is well-known. But it must be emphasised that the official irritation with *this* mural in particular was the culmination of a process that had begun years before, as the analysis of the documents concerning the construction of the maritime stations reveals. To understand what was at stake implies taking a step back to the time of the commission and the context of its accomplishment. (Fig. 1)

The programme of Lisbon's maritime stations corresponded to an old yearning for expansion of the main port of the then Portuguese Empire, which since the nineteenth century had been the subject of dozens of studies and reports but only in the 1920s actually began to be modernised. For many years the passenger ships that sought Lisbon anchored in river Tagus and small boats transported people and cargo to quays where all formalities were processed in barracks². In 1928, two years after the military

coup that established the dictatorship, it was decreed the mandatory mooring of ocean liners in Alcântara, thus without promptly solving the problem of adequate reception.

Duarte Pacheco, the minister who launched the major public works of the new regime and modernised Lisbon, took the action in hands. In January 1934, when Instituto Superior Técnico and Instituto Nacional de Estatística were already completed, he commissioned the same modernist architect, Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, the project of Lisbon's Maritime Stations. Given the complexity of the programme and its unprecedented character in Portugal, the following year the minister and the architect went to Italy and France for a field trip, there observing similar buildings³ which helped them analyse solutions, gather technical knowledge and absorb aesthetic languages that came to influence the features of Lisbon's stations (Pacheco 1998, 88-96).

Symbolic places per excellence — and more so in a small country with overseas territories — from those stations was expected not only that they helped to enhance maritime traffic and tourism but also that they translated a "new" architecture, consistent with the proclaimed "National Revolution" of the dictatorship and, of course, in line with its values. Lisbon was then gaining a larger importance as a port of destination or a port of call for regular liners and leisure cruises, annually receiving more than 200,000 passengers according to an official report of 1937⁴. As such, it was considered imperative to build such "living rooms" (*apud* Pacheco 1998, 93) appropriate to the image that the country was trying to sketch and project of itself.

Although due to budget constraints parts of the plan of Pardal Monteiro had to be eliminated, including the central

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

² *Boletim do Porto de Lisboa*, n.º 297, July-September 1992, p.8

³ From that trip they gathered images of the contemporary maritime stations of Genoa, Naples, Trieste and La Rochelle-La Pallice (this one still in project). Duarte Pacheco and Pardal Monteiro also visited Foro Mussolini, in Rome.

⁴ Report by Cid Perestrelo expedit on May 24, 1937, and included in the report to Conselho Superior de Obras Públicas, *in* Processo n.º 712, Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Obras Públicas, Transportes e Comunicações.



FIG. 1 Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, Alcântara Maritime Station (1934-43) > Estúdio Mário Novais, Biblioteca de Arte/FCG©



FIG. 2 Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, Alcântara Maritime Station (1934-43) > Estúdio Mário Novais, Biblioteca de Arte/FCG©

station of Cais do Sodré, the lighthouse-tower designed for Alcântara and the one kilometre gallery on pillars that should connect the stations of Alcântara and Rocha, these two completed buildings fulfilled the objectives of the programme — even if, contrary to what Salazar intended⁵, they were not ready on time for the great Centennial Celebrations of 1940. Erected in reinforced concrete (Fig. 2), with its modern entrance canopies, differentiated areas and monumental staircases and waiting halls, the two stations translated into an elegant sobriety which gave ample expression to the mural paintings on the upper floors, where 1st and 2nd class passengers were welcomed or bid farewell (Caldas 1997, n.p.).

At the insistence of the architect, those paintings were entrusted to Almada Negreiros, who had already collaborated with Pardal Monteiro in the controversial

Lisbon church of Nossa Senhora de Fátima and in the award-winning headquarters of *Diário de Notícias*⁶. But the reality of World War II overlapped with the works. With Portugal negotiating hard its neutrality in the conflict, Lisbon had become a centre of espionage, an outpost for the exchange of prisoners and a platform for exiles. In November of 1942 Lisbon's new airport became operational. And only on July 17, 1943, without pomp, the station of Alcântara was inaugurated yet unfinished, receiving the liner *Serpa Pinto* traveling from Philadelphia with over 200 British refugees on board⁷.

The “fantasy” that came to displease in the Alcântara Station

Almada Negreiros began to prepare the frescoes of Alcântara Maritime Station in that same year of 1943, and the

⁵ Official Note “Oito Séculos de Nacionalidade — A Fundação de Portugal e a Restauração da Independência serão comemoradas com o maior relevo em 1939 e 1940”, published in Portuguese newspapers on March 27, 1938.

⁶ Awarded with Prémio Valmor in 1940.

⁷ Property of Companhia Colonial de Navegação, *Serpa Pinto* was one of the Portuguese transatlantic liners. See *Boletim do Porto de Lisboa*, n.º 297, p.8, and “Chegou no ‘Serpa Pinto’ uma cunhada de Eden”, in *Diário de Lisboa*, July 17, 1943, p.4.

subjects initially considered for the decorations were the city of Lisbon and the Portuguese colonies (Pacheco 1998, 97). However, the final result carried out during the following year would be quite different.

On the east side of the waiting hall, on a triptych and an isolated composition, the painter depicted allegorical scenes of Lisbon's riverside and rustic Portugal (Fig. 3). On the west side, a triptych alluded to the legend of Nau Catrineta and a composition recalled the medieval miracle of D.Fuas Roupinho (Fig. 4), thus connecting a certain notion of the country with themes of oral tradition related to the sea and divine intervention, in a plastic translation of stylized lyricism that already denoted other paths in the artist work. Objections were immediate and placed at the highest level.

Minister Duarte Pacheco supposedly got "furious and indignant" with the painted "eyesore" (Castro 2006, 232-233) that should welcome foreigners (Fig. 5). Salazar summoned António Ferro, the director of National Propaganda (SPN/SNI) who modernised the aesthetics of the regime, and asked him to analyse the work and give an "unbiased" opinion. As years latter his wife Fernanda de Castro would recall (*ibid.*), Ferro had seen the frescoes several times and not only considered them "magnificent" but also assured Salazar that their quality was "beyond anything" that Almada had hitherto done, therefore "it wouldn't be possible to better welcome those who visit[ed] us by sea". The peremptory response convinced the dictator.

By that time Almada had already been awarded with Prémio Columbano, the Painting consecration established by SPN/SNI, and actively and regularly had collaborated in official initiatives, from propaganda posters, stamps and

illustrations, to the decorations created for national and international exhibitions, among them several works for the Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940. The polyhedral creativity of Almada made him one of the greatest figures in Portuguese arts and his relationship with António Ferro since the futuristic adventure of *Orpheu* magazine — despite all the tensions of that relationship and Almada's strong criticism towards Ferro, as already pointed out by José-Augusto França⁸ —, helped the recognition of his painting and graphic works. Nevertheless, many still kept alive the memory of the manifestos and polemics with which the "fearsome" Almada had stirred Lisbon during his youth.⁹

The issue of the Alcântara panels had been solved with António Ferro's plea to Salazar. However, the commission of Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Station' paintings would be subjected to tighter scrutiny. (Fig. 6)

Augusto Cancela de Abreu, minister of Public Works after Duarte Pacheco's death, requested in 1946 an opinion on whether to hand over the job to Almada, referring that choosing another painter would result, "of course, [in] a different artistic conception"¹⁰. Thus urged to issue a statement, the 6th Section of Junta Nacional de Educação (JNE), the qualified advisory board for fine arts and heritage¹¹, entrusted its member João Couto to write such statement. And the then director of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (MNAA) spared no praises to Almada and his Alcântara frescoes, extolling the "choice of themes", the "convincing fantasy" of the artist, the "harmony in the composition and colourfulness" and the "comprehensive interpretation of subjects". For all those reasons, Couto considered, it did not seem "convenient to put [Almada] aside" in the station of Rocha.

⁸ José-Augusto França, "Glórias de Almada", conference delivered at Colóquio Internacional Almada Negreiros, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, November 14, 2013.

⁹ *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, n.º 150, December 1937, p.163.

¹⁰ Ofício do Ministério das Obras Públicas, quoted in the report of João Couto to the 6th Section of Junta Nacional de Educação, April 11, 1946.

¹¹ The 6th Section of Junta Nacional de Educação was then presided by engineer Henrique Gomes da Silva and had as members architects Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, Raul Lino and Paulino Montez; the director of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, João Couto, and the director of Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, Vasco Rebelo Valente; the sculptor Diogo de Macedo; the painters Varela Aldemira, Albano Portocarrero de Almeida Coutinho and Armando de Lucena, and brigadeer Manuel Silveira e Castro (Army engineer and former commissar of Portuguese representations at Ibero-American Exhibition of Seville in 1929 and Colonial Exhibition of Vincennes in 1931).



FIG. 3 Almada Negreiros, Alcântara Maritime Station, panel *Ó Terra onde eu nasci* and triptych *Quem não viu Lisboa não viu coisa boa* > Paula Ribeiro Lobo©

FIG. 4 Almada Negreiros, Alcântara Maritime Station, triptych *Lá vem a Nau Catrineta* and panel *D.Fuas Roupinho* > Paula Ribeiro Lobo©



FIG. 5 Almada Negreiros, Alcântara Maritime Station decorations > Estúdio Mário Novais, Biblioteca de Arte/FCG©

But João Couto would go further. In that same statement he recalled the discussion generated by the paintings of the Brazilian Candido Portinari in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress in Washington, to assure that this “was not”, and “would not”, be the case of the Portuguese maritime stations. The chosen example revealed what was at stake: in the previous year Portinari had been candidate for federal deputy for the Brazilian Communist Party, and his work inspired the social themes’ painting of Portuguese Neo-Realism, the artistic movement of opposition to the regime that by then had gained force. Concluding that it would be

“very dangerous” to look for another solution, João Couto reiterated that the fresco panels of Rocha should, “without hesitation”, be commissioned to Almada. His opinion was approved by the 6th section of JNE, and Pardal Monteiro made sure to add in the minutes that “the painter was nominated by the architect” of that station¹².

Seven months later, an official letter from the Director of DGEMN, the entity in charge of monitoring the construction, referred that the minister agreed to commission the work to Almada Negreiros, but also that he then required three opinions of “competent technicians” over the budgeted



FIG. 6 Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Maritime Station (1945-48) > Estúdio Mário Novais, Biblioteca de Arte/FCG©

¹² Acta da 105.ª sessão, April 12, 1946, in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo/Fundo Junta Nacional de Educação, livro 97, folha 90.

amount¹³. Alcântara frescoes had cost 200,000 escudos, and for Rocha Station the artist asked 500,000 escudos, including personnel costs, materials, residence and his own fees.¹⁴

The three technicians inquired gave different answers. For João Couto, director of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, the price was even modest given the complexity and extent of the paintings, and he reminded the fees charged by artists such as Portinari, Sert or even Portuguese portraitist Henrique Medina.¹⁵ So he had nothing against the 500,000 escudos budget. Mariano Pires, the engineer in charge of DGEMN's office of works and buildings, considered that having the panels an area similar to Alcântara frescoes and being repeated "the spirit of the work and the labour process," the "disproportion" was not justified. He therefore suggested that a reduction to 336,000 escudos should be proposed to Almada¹⁶. As for architect Baltazar da Silva Castro, former director of DGEMN, the increasing prices of the materials and labour justified the difference in costs, and he presented a conciliatory proposal of 450,000 escudos¹⁷ — the amount by which the contract was finally set.

As it had already happened in Alcântara, only after the inauguration of the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Station — in June 19, 1948¹⁸ — the decoration process began. Almada Negreiros concluded the works the following year, executing the painting in just 30 days,¹⁹ but in November 1949 it was still discussed whether to keep the frescoes. And once again João Couto defended the artist, saving the panels from destruction.

The “social realism” that defied the regime in Rocha Station

Recovering his geometrical researches and refining them to an unparalleled level in the Portugal of those days, Almada painted in Rocha maritime station two triptychs (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8), giving them the plain names of *Quay (Cais)* and *Coastline (Litoral)*. But what is actually there, framed by the pilasters of the building, is a dissonant note in the propaganda of the New State, as José-Augusto França (1974, 143) identified:

“[These triptychs] respond to each other, front to front: in one, the drama of emigration, exiting harbour, in an old boat, where sweat and grease can be smelled; on the other, the Lisbon that stays, with its Sunday pleasures, in a modest sadness passed in boredom and wonder, gently, in a time that stood.”²⁰

About those “paintings of our solitude” that the triptych *Quay* represents, the historian (França 1974, 37) would add:

“It is the departure of a liner of emigrants that, during all hands on deck and ashore, in front of relatives arriving to wave goodbye, line up along the bulwarks, vacant look, with a heart forever sore. It is the most important composition. The solitude of the other triptych adds up there with values of eternity: no possible salvation, in either, assists the sad race...”²¹

This “collective portrait,” as called by Margarida Acciaiuoli (1984, n.p.; 1991, 746), immediately aroused hostile reactions.

¹³ Ofício n.º 11.258 [sent to Baltazar da Silva Castro], in “Processo Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos (Pinturas)”, Arquivo DGEMN-Instituto da Habilitação e Reabilitação Urbana; and Ofício n.º 11.254 [sent to João Couto], in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/Arquivo do Dr. João Couto, dossier 57 (Pareceres da Junta Nacional de Educação/Projectos de Decoração em Edifícios do Estado).

¹⁴ According to copy of the budget, in “Processo Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos (Pinturas)”, Arquivo DGEMN-Instituto da Habilitação e Reabilitação Urbana.

¹⁵ Letter dated December 12, 1946, in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/Arquivo do Dr. João Couto, dossier 57 (Pareceres da Junta Nacional de Educação/Projectos de Decoração em Edifícios do Estado).

¹⁶ “Processo Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos (Pinturas)”, in Arquivo DGEMN-Instituto da Habilitação e Reabilitação Urbana.

¹⁷ Idem.

¹⁸ With the arrival of the liner *North King*, property of a Portuguese-Panama navigation company. See “Começou hoje a funcionar a nova gare marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos”, in *Diário de Lisboa*, July 19, 1949, p.1.

¹⁹ According to draft of the statement written by João Couto in November 10, 1949, preserved at Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/Arquivo do Dr. João Couto, dossier 57 (Pareceres da Junta Nacional de Educação/Projectos de Decoração em Edifícios do Estado).

²⁰ In the original: “Respondem-se, um defronte do outro: num, o drama da emigração, barra em fora, num barco velho, em que se sente o cheiro a suado e a gordura; no outro, a Lisboa que fica, com os seus prazeres dominicais, numa modesta tristeza passada em pasmaceira e maravilha, docemente, num tempo que se deteve.”

²¹ In the original: “É a partida de um paquete de emigrantes que, nas fainas de bordo e de terra, diante dos familiares que vêm despedir-se, se perfilam à amurada, vagos no olhar, dolorido para sempre o coração. É a composição mais importante. A solidão do outro tríptico acrescenta-se ali com valores de eternidade: nenhuma salvação possível, num e noutro, assiste à raça triste.”



FIG. 7 Almada Negreiros, Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Maritime Station, triptych *Litoral (Coastline)* > Paula Ribeiro Lobo©

For its “inconvenient modernism” as José-Augusto França (1982, 38) emphasised. For being painted during a tense moment of Portuguese political life and art scene, would add Rui Mário Gonçalves (1986, 16-17). For denoting the speculative research of the artist concerning the formulation of ratio 9/10, suggested Fernando Pernes (1970, 12) in a reading that takes from the fascination of Almada with the composition of 15th century Nuno Gonçalves’ panels and from his famous essay *Mito-Alegoria-Símbolo: monólogo autodidacta na oficina de pintura*, published in 1948.

Possibly the suspicions of politicians resulted not from one but from the combination of those three factors. For sure,

the panels of Rocha were at risk and, again, the affair was being handled at high ranks.

In a letter sent in November 1948 to DGEMN’s director, Pardal Monteiro hinted that the frescoes were controversial: while declaring that the artist concluded the “expansion of the second triptych, entitled *Quay*,” the architect guaranteed that the works, “for their composition and conception harmonise[d] with the general composition and deserve[d], therefore, approval.”²² But his endorsement was not enough.

A year later, with engineer José Frederico do Casal Ribeiro Ulrich already leading the Ministry of Public Works, João Couto interceded again in favour of Almada. In a three-page



FIG. 8 Almada Negreiros, Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Maritime Station, triptych *Cais (Quay)* > Paula Ribeiro Lobo©

²² Letter from architect Porfírio Pardal Monteiro to DGEMN’s director, dated November 1, 1948, in “Processo Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos (Pinturas)”, Arquivo DGEMN-Instituto da Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana.

statement, the director of MNAA recalled what he had said about the Alcântara panels to reaffirm his confidence in the artist. He asserted that “the new frescoes of Rocha Conde de Óbidos station exceed[ed] the previous ones in power of creation and execution.” And clarified that the painter gave his murals the names *Coastline* and *Quay*²³ — a particularly relevant detail at a time when official Censorship tightened its meshes and the regime hardened the repression to opponents. Furthermore, João Couto added:

“Regarding the interpretation of subjects and the way to solve certain passages, people can argue whether they follow or not the artist’s thought. There’s no doubt, however, that the visitor encounters a work that immediately imposes itself by modernity and boldness of conception, by the beauty of the ensembles and details, by the colour, by the novelties that they generously offer us and even by the harmony with the building and the room they were intended for. (...) The whole story told by Almada convinces me. Which does not dampen that the triptych *Quay* impresses me beyond imagination and pleases me without restrictions.” ²⁴

To summon up, concluded Couto, “the nation and the city of Lisbon c[ould] and should be proud” of the new artwork. And the visitors, when seeing it, would make “condign judgment” of the Portuguese, realising that they were “on par with the new and great artistic messages” and not just “leaning over a past that we don’t disown, but one that does not repeat.” ²⁵

The panels were spared but the controversy took a while to subside. When in 1953 Almada told a newspaper that even “not being an enthusiast” of that artistic movement “all artists consciously make ‘social realism,’”²⁶ he placed the issue in the due frame. To the political left wings, Almada was seen as an individualist and a collaborator of the regime. To the ultra orthodox right, there were still doubts on his intentions and that distrust would even affect future commissions — as proven by a manuscript preserved in the family estate, in which the artist complains about the cancelled order of the large tapestry intended for the Reading Room of the Portuguese National Library²⁷. But Almada, as we know, did not fit the left/right dichotomy that combatively defined the era.

In fact, what the painter portrayed in Rocha do Conde de Óbidos station was a subject that closely related to him. Right at the end of World War I Almada lived in Paris for a year and there he reconnected again with himself and the country he had left. As he would recognise later, “art does not live without the artist’s homeland”²⁸ — and his homeland, as already mentioned,²⁹ transcended the geographical limits of the maps. In 1927 Almada set off again towards Madrid, where he developed an intense activity until his definite return to Lisbon in 1932. Departure and absence were, therefore, realities he knew *from inside*. And what the panel of Rocha Station shows us is the extension of that feeling to a whole people that, after World War II and thwarted all hopes for a change in the country, began to leave again.

More than an artwork on emigration, *Quay* (Fig. 9) would thus be a visual reflection on the *migration* of a people towards more prosperous countries, the exile or the then

²³ According to draft of the referred letter, dated November 10, 1949, *in* Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/Arquivo do Dr. João Couto, dossier 57 (Pareceres da Junta Nacional de Educação/Projectos de Decoração em Edifícios do Estado).

²⁴ Idem. In the original: “*Quanto à interpretação dos assuntos e à forma de resolver certas passagens, podem as pessoas discutir se sim ou não acompanham o pensamento do artista. Não sofre dúvida, porém, que o visitante se encontra com uma obra que logo se impõe pela modernidade e pela ousadia da concepção, pela beleza dos conjuntos e dos pormenores, pela cor, pelas novidades que generosamente nos oferece e até pela harmonia com o edifício e a sala a que se destinaram. (...) Toda a história contada por Almada me convence. O que não obsta a que o tríptico Cais me impressione sobremaneira e me agrade sem restrições.*”

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ E.C., “Diga-nos a verdade — Almada negreiros”, *in* *Diário de Lisboa*, January 28, 1953, p.9.

²⁷ Building also projected by architect Pardo Monteiro (1958-1969). In the (non dated) manuscript draft of that letter, that Almada addressed to the then minister of Public Works and for which there weren’t so far found records of receipt, the artist also states that “this is not the first time that it happens to me in your Ministry”. I thank Catarina Almada Negreiros and Sara Afonso Ferreira for this reference.

²⁸ Final Conference of II Salão de Outono da SNBA, December 1926, *apud* Margarida Acciaiuoli, *in* *Almada* (exhibition catalogue), Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/CAM, 1984, n.p.

²⁹ Gustavo Rubim, “O próprio humano”, conference delivered at Colóquio Internacional Almada Negreiros, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, November 14, 2013.



FIG. 9 Almada Negreiros, Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Maritime Station, triptych *Cais* (Quay) > Paula Ribeiro Lobo©

Portuguese colonies. In short, a work on the *departure* and the *void* of staying, inscribed on a monumental scale in a collective memory space that would relate to other future painful departures and arrivals. And in that sense it is a portrait that puts into question our own image. For as Eduardo Lourenço wrote in *O Labirinto da Saudade* (2009, 125) about those centuries old departures with no certainty of comeback, “if ‘out there’ is that hell that many would view as reassuring, therefore supposing to exalt by contrast the sweetness of the ‘homeland’s nest’, what kind of hell would be the home for [them] to have the courage and willingness to abandon it?”³⁰

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³⁰ In the original: “Se ‘lá fora’ é esse inferno que muitos desejariam supor para se tranquilizar, julgando assim exaltar por contraste as doçuras do ‘pátrio ninho’, que espécie de inferno seria o caseiro para ter tido coragem e vontade de abandoná-lo?”



José de Almada Negreiros
proferindo uma conferência,
[196-]